


The GREGORIAN REVIEW



Gregorian Institute of America
VOLUME III NO. 1

JAN.-FEB., 1956

v. 3-4
1956-
57



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The GREGORIAN REVIEW

Studies in Sacred Chant and Liturgy

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English-language edition of the *Revue Gregorienne*

Bulletin of the School of Solesmes

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The Gregorian Review is published bi-monthly. Subscription rates: \$4.50 per year; \$8.00 two years; single copies 80c. Canada and foreign countries \$5.00 per year.

Published by the Gregorian Institute Press, 2132 Jefferson Ave., Toledo 2, Ohio. Telephone GARfield 0884.

All checks and money orders should be payable to the Gregorian Institute of America.

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Printed in U.S.A.

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Bishop of Toledo

February 9, 1956

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THE LITURGICAL YEAR IN THE ORGAN CHORALS OF JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH

by Dom Antoine Bonnet

We do not today possess the large number of Preludes which Johann Sebastian Bach composed on the Choral tunes which were sung in his time throughout the liturgical year. Only 160 or so have been preserved for us. These have been grouped in sets or collections by Bach himself:

1) The *Little Organ Book*, composed at Cothen between 1717 and 1725 and intended for "the beginning organist who has need of examples for the performance of all kinds of chorals, and for the development of ability in the study of the pedal". It includes forty-five chorals, generally somewhat short ones, classed according to the order of the liturgical year.

2) The twenty-one Chorals published in 1739 by their composer, in the third part of the "*Clavierübung* (keyboard exercises), containing various preludes on the tunes of the Catechism and other tunes, for organ".

3) The so-called "Leipzig Chorals", pieces of various dates which were published after Bach's death by his son-in-law, Altnikol.

4) The six Chorals (transcriptions of Cantata airs) published in 1746, and the Variations on a Christmas Carol published in 1747, which makes up a total of ninety-one Chorals.

The approximately sixty-nine others (since many are of doubtful authenticity) make up a kind of reliquary of diverse pieces which seem to be youthful works and fantasies . . . a whole corpus of music which Bach did not think should be included in the collections described above.

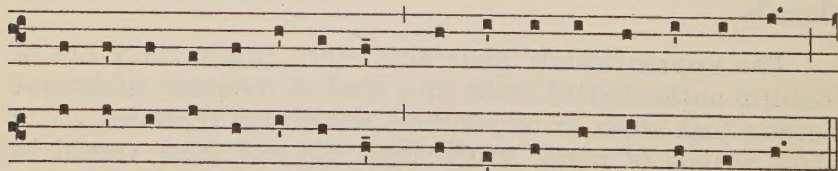
In the following commentary we shall not concern ourselves with the historical or technical study of the Bach Chorals. This has been done many times already. Beginning with the facts given by Spitta, Schweitzer, Pirro, Dufourey and others, however, it may not be entirely amiss to emphasize somewhat the properly religious aspect of the hymn-paraphrases, taken for the most part from the psalms and hymns of the Church, determine their meaning, and in this way discover the relationships which they maintain, sometimes with the letter and more often with the spirit of certain Gregorian melodies which are sung on the principal feasts of the Liturgical Year.

I. Expectation of the Saviour of Mankind

We know that the forty-five Chorals of the *Little Organ Book* were arranged by Bach himself according to the order of the liturgical seasons. This order, abandoned by the older Peters editions, was fortunately restored in more recent classical editions. We shall continually cite that of Marcel Dupre, published by Bornemann's of Paris (D.B.).

The collection opens with a prelude on *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (D.B., Book VII, No. 1). It is short, but full of grandeur. The counterpoint is rich, severe in some places, and it rises up like the ringing of solemn bells. The choral-tune is in the upper part, considerably altered and fitted to the rhythm of the rest. A person familiar with the *Monastic Antiphonary* will not, however, have any difficulty in recognizing the melody which the Benedictine Order sings during Christmastide at the hymn for the Little Hours:

Actually, we have here an adaptation in the present Office of a melody which the manuscripts assign to the hymn *Veni*



Redemptor Gentium, the text of which goes back to the fourth century, since its attribution to Saint Ambrose (340-397) is solidly established.² Dom Gueranger gave the Latin text of it in his *Annee Liturgique*, together with a French translation, for the fourth Wednesday of Advent, presenting it as a "hymn of preparation for Christmas".

In fact, for many centuries this hymn was sung at First Vespers of Christmas, and it was not until 1568 that, with the reform of the Roman Breviary ordered by St. Pius, this *Veni Redemptor Gentium* disappeared from liturgical use. The Milanese Church, at least, still keeps it and still sings it at the Lucernarium of First Vespers of the Nativity of Our Lord.¹

Even during the Middle Ages this hymn was translated into vernacular languages, particularly in Germany, where we find it to have been in wide use with a number of variants.² During the same period, the original melody underwent changes of melodic and rhythmic nature so that the translation of the hymn by Luther at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the choral to which it was sung from that time on, far from being a "creation", represent, on the contrary, the result of a long and slow evolution.

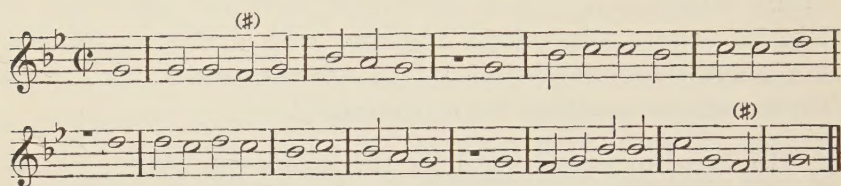
The liturgical reform of St. Pius V, then, had this paradoxical result, that the hymn of St. Ambrose, henceforth ignored in Catholic countries, came to meet with new good fortune in Germany. Protestant organists, in fact, were supposed to paraphrase the hymn tune before it was to be sung by the congregation. Fritz Munger gives a very full list of these Preludes: *Choralbearbeitungen für Orgel*, Barenreiter Verlag, 1952, p. 101-102, and the magazine *Orgue et Liturgie* (No. 19, Paris, 1953), has made a number of them available to us, from Michael Praetorius (1571-1621) to Wilhelm-Friedemann Bach (1710-1784).

2. Cf. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1892, p. 1211-1212, and Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 1897, II, p. 710. Its text will be found in the *Patrologie latine*, c. 1410-1411, and again in Chevalier, *Poesie liturgique traditionnelle de l'Eglise catholique en Occident*, 1894, p. 30.

1. Cf. *Liber Vespertalis juxta ritum Sanctae Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, 1939, p. 92-93.

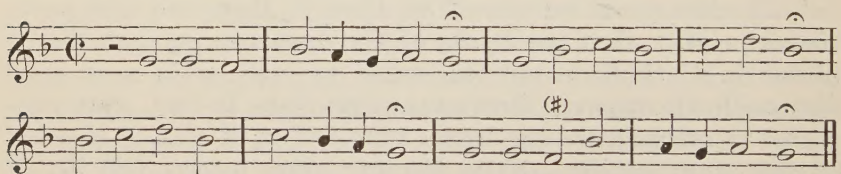
2. Cf. Wilhelm Baumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied . . .*, 1886, I, Nos. 1-3, p. 243-246.

The melody set by Praetorius, Scheidt (1624) and their contemporaries takes the following form:



We see that in spite of two hesitant alterations, this theme remains very faithful to the original melody. In contrapuntal developments, however, the laws of tonality become more and more demanding. A characteristic example of these compromises between the older modality and classic tonality is found in the five verses of Scheidt on the Hymn *de Adventu Domini*.¹ The first and fourth fragments of the tune, altered in verses one, three and four, return, in the soprano of the second verse and the bass of the fifth, to the regular form of the older melody.

With the second half of the seventeenth century, however, we usually find the melody to be more ornate:



Adopted and harmonized in four parts by Scheidt in his *Tablaturbuch* of 1650, it has often been ornamented, particularly by Nikolaus Bruhns (1665-1697)² Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706), Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707), Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748), etc. . . .

These chorals merit more than a simple mention, but we must now return to those of Johann Sebastian Bach.

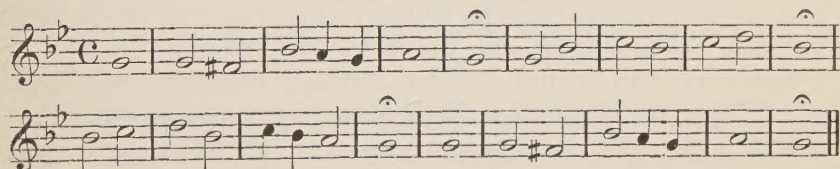
1. Cf. *Tablatura Nova*, Third Part (*Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, I, p. 191-193).

2. Cf. Straube, *Alte Meister des Orgelspiels*, I, No. 3, p. 23-25.

It has been often said that Bach occupies a central position in the history of music. With an extraordinary capacity for work, he was able to summarize and bring to perfection a long tradition inherited from the musicians of western Europe (Northern Germany, Central Germany, Italy, France, etc. . . .), but he was a man who perceived the musical problems of his time and who oriented the entire future of his art. With him, in fact, equal temperament became solidly established, and tonality became a dominant element. We have an example of this orientation in the way in which he treated the choral *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*.

On this theme Bach wrote two cantatas (Nos. 61 and 62), five Chorals for organ, a Fuguetta (or rather a piece "in fugue" on the first phrase of the choral tune) which probably belongs to the group of youthful works (D.B., Book XII, No. 8), the Choral already mentioned from the *Little Organ* Book VII, No. 1), and the three great Chorals of the Leipzig collection (D.B., Book IX, Nos. 9, 10 and 11).

In the little fugue and in the Cothen Choral, Bach is still faithful to the melody as used by Buxtehude, Pachelbel or Walther, but in the cantatas and Leipzig chorals, he changes the intonation in such a way that the melody is now based on the key of G minor:



On this "alteration of a single note" Andre Pirro has written some eloquent pages¹. For him it is not merely "because of the simple turn of the modulations" that Bach chose this "characteristic variant". "We may be permitted, on the contrary, to see here that by utilizing this change of the basic tune in his composition, he sensed that it was pos-

1. Pirro, *L'Esthetique de J.-S. Bach*, 1907, p. 66 and ss.

sible to bring a more profound interpretation to this Advent hymn."

"Although the poetry invokes the coming of the Saviour of the Gentiles, the music seems to predict even from this time, by this phrase of pathos, the sufferings which await Him among men and the death which He must undergo. It is a characteristic of Bach's religion to feel a need to express both Christ's birth, which is the beginning of his redeeming work, and His death on the cross, which marks the achievement of His mission". This is a fine thought, but does it correspond with the hidden intention of the composer? Does not this smack of over-systematization? This seems more in question, too, as Bach was not the first to have used this particular alteration. We find proof of this in the Choral of Bruhns we have just cited.

Moreover, if it be proved that by using this altered interval Bach sought "to bring Calvary into the aspects of the cradle from the very outset", he would still have been merely expressing in music a doctrine expounded frequently by the Fathers of the Church, particularly by Leo the Great, who, on Christmas day, seeks to contemplate in this "nova nativitas" the beginning of our redemption.¹ Then, too, does not St. Ambrose take the same perspectives in verses five and six of the *Veni Redemptor Gentium*? "Having proceeded from the Father, He returns to the Father; having descended into Hell, He now takes His place on the throne of God" . . . "Co-eternal Son, equal to the Father, triumph over our mortal flesh; by Thine immutable Power, strengthen our weak natures".

Regardless of all this, what is undeniably clear in listening to the three Leipzig Chorals is the nobility and grandeur of the style, as well as the amplitude of the figurations.

This characteristic of noble style is noticeable even in the eleventh Choral, which from a chronological point of view, seems earlier than the other two. Structurally speaking, it merely carries out a principle which was a favorite of

1. Cf. *Sermones in Nativitate Domini* "Christian Sources", 1949, I, p. 68 and ss.

Pachelbel, which consists of preparing each entry of the choral tune with imitative passages in diminished values. Here, however, the counterpoint is more vigorous. It calls for the ensemble of foundation stops and mixtures of the organ, whereas each phrase of the theme appears in the pedal, enriched by the addition of reeds. This Chorale-Prelude is most effective when played in a somewhat moving tempo, although not to the point of precipitation, while one should take care to preserve strictly the inexorable rhythm which flows through the whole piece.

Choral No. 10 of the same collection is rarely performed by organists. It deserves, however, a better fate. Perhaps the reason for its lesser popularity is the disconcerting aspect, at first glance, of a rarely used disposition of the parts. Two parts, one in the pedal and the other in the manual, cross and interplay in a continuous and close dialogue. A third part enters periodically to assert the choral tune at the octave, but in a greatly extended and ornamented form. This trio form obliges one to forego the habitual 16 foot pedal, as the two crossing parts must be sounded in the same register, although with two different timbres. We no longer have the brilliance and amplitude of sound found up to this point (D.B., VII, No. 1, and IX, No. 2). This movement is more tranquil, the parts become more discreet, and the choral rises up like an earnest prayer, almost in sadness, to the sole Saviour of the world.

This interpretation of the Advent Choral attains its fullness in Prelude No. 9 of this Leipzig set (D.B., IX, No. 9). This is the masterpiece of all the preludes on *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* and one of the summits of the whole corpus of organ Chorals.

Over a steady and solemn bass, the middle voices do not merely prepare the entries of the tune with imitations and ornaments in conformity with usual practice. They also "sing" in a markedly more flexible movement than that of the bass, and their interest grows continually. Note in particular the measures just before the final entry of the tune.

Finally, in the upper voice the melody of the choral soars up with supreme tranquillity, ornamented with arabesques in very pure and peaceful lines like the upsurge of a prayer.

Such a happy result is not exceptional in the immense output of Johann Sebastian Bach. We could mention a number of others, and each would be a revelation of the extent of his musical genius, and still more of the quality of his soul. Bach held a vigorous faith, as nobody would seriously be able to deny, but there is more to it than that. He must be numbered among those who "know what it is to wait in expectation", who desire and anticipate the return of their Master.

These masterpieces have within them something of mystery, and these few commentaries cannot pretend to have clarified this point. They aid us, however, in better understanding why these Chorals do not seem out-of-place in the plan of the Advent liturgy. Technically we are far from the early melody and its flexible and lively rhythm and the resonance of the second Gregorian mode. Nevertheless, deeper affinities remain, for experience has proved that at First Vespers of Christmas, this music well fits the spiritual atmosphere produced by this wonderful Office. As early as the fourth century, this vulnerable hymn which we have examined evoked it with simplicity and grandeur:

Come, Redeemer of all Peoples; Be known as the Son of the Virgin; Let the whole world be amazed; Such a birth is due to a God.

Even now Thy cradle brightly shines; In the night a new light has glowed forth; No darkness can obscure it; It is the permanent splendor of faith!

*THE CHANTS OF THE MASS IN THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES

by Dom Jacques Froger, monk of Solesmes

THE SECRET. When the singing of the Offertory is completed, "the Pontiff, his head bowed toward the earth, says the prayer over the offerings, in such a way that no one but God and himself can hear, excepting, however, *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*. Then when all have answered *Amen*, . . .", etc. (*Capitulare*).

The prayer which concludes the Offertory rite is called in the *Ordines romani*, as well as in the Gregorian Sacramentary of Hadrian, the prayer "over the offerings" (*super oblata*). This name is not the oldest, for the Gelasian Sacramentary, which in its ensemble represents sixth century practice, calls it consistently "*Secreta*". This Latin word, which has come to bear the stamp of a feminine singular (*oratio secreta*, meaning secret prayer), was originally, it would seem, a neuter plural. The "secrets" alluded to by this term were the "mysteries", or Canon of the Mass, and in fact, in ancient times the term *secreta* is attested to as being synonymous with "Canon of the Mass". It introduces the Canon while concluding the Offertory, and the mention of the "offerings" or the "oblation" or "sacrifice", included in perhaps every Secret of ancient origin, must be understood as a reference to the consecration or transubstantiation which the Canon is to lead to shortly thereafter.

We see, then, that the name of the "Secret" in its original sense in no way means that this prayer should be said "secretly" or "in a low voice". It was said in silence, to be sure, in the eighth century as attested to by the *Ordines romani*, but this practice very probably is not the older tradi-

*This is the fifth of a series of articles reproducing Dom Froger's book in its entirety.

tion and is due to a misunderstanding of the real meaning of “*secreta*”. Intimately related to the Collect and Postcommunion, the Secret has, like these other prayers, a public character, and like these others, ought to be said in full voice in the Roman rite, as is still the practice even today in the Ambrosian rite.¹

PREFACE AND SANCTUS. Immediately after the *Amen* of the prayer “over the offerings”, the actual Canon or Anaphora begins, since what we today call the “Preface” is really the beginning of the Canon. The insertion of the *Sanctus* is what has interrupted the continuity of the Anaphora and given the first prayer or “Preface” the appearance of not belonging to the rest.

The first prayer of the Canon or “Preface” opens, therefore, with a little dialogue between the celebrant and the faithful. “Then when all have answered *Amen* (after the *Per omnia* which concludes the Secret), he (the Pontiff) immediately says *Dominus vobiscum*, and all answer *Et cum spiritu tuo*. He says *Sursum corda*, and all answer *Habemus ad Dominum*. He says *Gratias agamus Domino Deo (nostro)*, and all answer *Dignum et justum (est)*”. (Capitulare). The same information is given in the Padua source.

“Then the Pontiff says the Preface aloud so that everyone can hear it. When he comes to *Adorant dominationes*, all the bishops, priests and deacons bow their faces downward. When he arrives at *Supplici confessione dicentes*, the sub-deacons bow again, while all the clerics and people proclaim with fear and reverence: *Sanctus*” (Capitulare).

Although “all the clerics and people” sing the *Sanctus*, this does not mean that the celebrant is silent. Obviously he sings the *Sanctus* with everyone else, not being content, as today, to recite it in a low voice in order to hurry into the Canon before the singing of the *Sanctus* is finished. A *Capitulum* of Herardus, archbishop of Tours († 870 or 871), gives us interesting information on this point by prescribing

1. Cf. J. Brinktrine, *Zur Deutung des Wortes Secreta* in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, t. 44 (1930), p. 291, from which are taken the facts given here regarding the Secret.

that "the priests should not begin the Canon before the *Sanctus* is completed, but should sing the *Sanctus* with the people".¹ We can see by this that in the second half of the ninth century the present practice had already begun to be observed, but that it was considered to be an abuse. The Church, moreover, sought to repress it by maintaining the older practice by which the celebrant joins in the singing with everyone else and sings with the whole congregation.

The singing of the *Sanctus* is carried out with bowed heads. According to the *Breviarium* we can see that not only the deacons bowed their heads, but everyone without exception: celebrant, clergy and people. S. Amand specifies that "if it is a Sunday, the priests bow their heads, and if it is an ordinary day, bend their knees when the *Sanctus* begins".

CANON. "When they have finished it", says *Ordo Rom. I*, "the Pontiff alone straightens up and starts the Canon", or more precisely, continues it.

In what tone of voice did the Pontiff say the Canon?

In this regard the *Ordines romani* attest to an important evolution which it is interesting to consider. Here are the texts in their chronological order:²

a) the *Capitulare*, as we read it in MS. St. Gall 349, says "and he (the Pontiff) begins to *sing in a similar voice and melody* in such a way that he is heard only by those standing around the altar";

b) two manuscripts of the same *Capitulare* contain this variant: "and he begins the canon *in a different voice*, in such a way . . .", etc.;

c) the *Breviarium* gives the passage this way: "The priest begins the canon *in a different voice, softly*";

1. Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, 121, 765, No. XVI.

2. This comparison of the texts and the resulting conclusion are borrowed from Silva-Tarouca, Giovanni "Archicantor" . . ., p. 182.

d) *Ordo romanus I* does not clarify it, but is content to say: "The Pontiff alone straightens up and begins the Canon";

e) *Ordo romanus II*, somewhat later, introduces a characteristic modification: "The Pontiff alone straightens up and *silently* begins the canon".

As we can see, the oldest of these texts declares that the canon was "*sung in a similar voice and melody*", that is, similar to the voice and melody of the Preface, of which, after the Sanctus, the Canon is the continuation. The *Capitulare* adds, however, that the Pontiff is not to be heard except by those close to him, a fact which presupposes that the voice with which he sings the Canon, although "similar" to that with which he sang the Preface, nevertheless differs from it by its decreased degree of loudness.

Two of the *Capitulare* manuscripts emphasize this difference between Preface and Canon still more. They eliminate the word "sing" and replace the word "similar" with the word "different". Therefore the recitation of the Canon ceased to be a real singing with the same melody as the Preface. The priest no longer sings, but merely speaks. His voice, however, is still loud enough to be heard by those around him.

The *Breviarium* goes still further. In reproducing the *Capitulare* in its altered form which we have just seen in (b), it adds the word "softly", thus showing that at the time of its writing the priest not only no longer sang, but had reduced the intensity of this voice in spoken recitation still more.

Finally, *Ordo romanus II* adds further emphasis. Repeating the text of *Ordo rom. I*, it adds the word "silently". Taking this Latin word "*tacite*" in its strict sense, this would mean that the priest does not even pronounce the words of the Canon, but that he restricts himself to mental formation of the text. Thus the priest henceforth says the Canon in a very low voice, and no one hears it, even his closest assistants.

We can see the evolution which has led to the recitation of the Canon in a low voice, as is the present-day practice. Going back over the course of time, guided by our texts, we see that before the period in which the Canon was said in a low voice or "silently", there was a time when it was spoken in a full voice, and that in a yet more remote period it was not only spoken, but sung to the same melody as the preface, although somewhat less strongly. This latter was the situation in the eighth century. Now if we consider this slow evolution by which the voice of the celebrant became softer and softer to the point of silence, we cannot help observing that the text of the *Capitulare* marks not the original attitude, but actually the first stage of this evolution. At the time of the writing of the *Capitulare* it is evident that the celebrant had already begun to soften his voice for this part of the Mass, and that the singing of the Canon was already softer than that of the Preface. Originally, however, we can see that the Canon was not only sung, and, moreover, not only sung to the tone of the Preface and "in a similar voice", but sung in quite as strong a voice which was as capable of being heard by all in attendance, as that of the Preface. This was the original manner of rendering the Canon which we find supported by a passage with practically no modifications in the oldest of the *Ordines Romani*.

The celebrant therefore sings the Canon and comes to the doxology: "The Pontiff touches the side of the Chalice with the oblation, saying *Per ipsum et cum ipso*, as far as *Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen*. And the Pontiff sets the oblations down in their proper place, and the archdeacon sets the Chalice near them, leaving the "offertory" in its handles.¹ And *Amen* is answered". (*Ordo rom, I*) The "little elevation", as we call it today, did not, therefore, include at this time, as it does today, signs of the cross with a host over the Chalice. The celebrant, aided by the deacon, simply elevated the hosts and Chalice a little. We should note that the concluding words *Per omnia . . . Amen* were not said, as today, *after* the host and Chalice have been returned to the altar, but *before*, a practice which has the advantage of not cutting in

1. The "offertory" mentioned here is a cloth.

two the phrase "*omni honor et gloria per omnia saecula saeculorum*", which obviously forms an indivisible unit.

The Padua source informs us that after this *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, it is the "people", that is, the entire congregation, who answer *Amen*..

At this point the Canon is concluded¹, for it is only by an oversight by the printers that the words *Canon Missae* in our modern editions of the Roman Missal continue to be found at the top of the pages as a "running head" up through the Last Gospel, inclusive. In reality, the formula "*Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen*", is the solemn doxology which closes the Canon.

THE PATER. The Canon being finished, the Sacrifice is offered, and nothing remains but to participate in it through communion. This is a new part of the Mass which begins here.

In the old days, the change to this part of the service was indicated in a very clear manner. After the *Amen* which terminates the Canon, the Pontiff returned to the throne, and it was from that place that he sang the prayers of preparation for the communion. St. Gregory the Great, however, through respect for the *Pater*, decided that henceforth the Pontiff would remain at the altar to sing it. From the time of this reform we no longer see as clearly the line of separation between the Canon or celebration of the sacrifice on one hand, and the communion or participation of the congregation in the sacrifice on the other.

Nevertheless, with the *Pater* begin the prayers relative to the communion. The reason that the *Pater* is sung by the celebrant is because in former times it was considered to be the finest means of preparing for communion. Our Lord had said in the Gospel: "If, therefore, in presenting your offer-

1. Amalaire, De Eccl. off., III, c.27, says expressly: ". . . the canon being finished, that is to say, at the point where *per omnia saecula saeculorum* is said. . . .".

ing at the altar you remember that your brother has a grievance against you, leave your offering before the altar and go first to reconcile yourself with your brother; then you should return to present your offering".¹ In order to approach the eucharistic sacrifice, then, one must not have one's conscience burdened with any defect against brotherly love, which is the most important of the commandments together with that of love of God. It is in order to purify their consciences on this point that the Christians of antiquity recited the *Pater*. The Benedictine Rule calls for singing the *Pater* aloud by the Superior, at Vespers and Laudes², and it gives the reason for this: "because of the misunderstandings³ which, like thorns, grow too often in monasteries: in order that, warned by the promise contained in this prayer, by which they say 'forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us', they may be purified from a fault of this kind". This, too, is the reason for which the celebrant said the *Pater* aloud before the communion, and all the people, according to the *Capitulare*, answered *Sed libera nos a malo*.

The prayer *Libera* which follows the *Pater* also has a public character. It most certainly must have been said aloud, as is the custom today on Good Friday, or more likely, was sung to a tone similar to that of the *Pater*, as is done in the Ambrosian rite.

"And the Pontiff . . . says *Pax Domini sit semper obiscum*. And all answer *Et cum spiritu tuo*" (*Capitulare*).⁴

At this point the kiss of peace is given, which signifies the mutual forgiveness of injuries, and which, in this sense, is a preparation for communion.

1. *Matthew*, V, 22-24.

2. *Regula Benedicti*, c. 13.

3. This is clearly the meaning of "*scandalum*" in this passage (and also in c.65). See Du Cange, who gives examples of this meaning, very common in the Merovingian period.

4. Concerning the delicate problems which arise in connection with this part of the Mass, see Dom Capelle, *Le rite de la fraction dans la messe romaine*, in *Revue Benedictine*, 53, p. 14 (915-40).

FRACTION and AGNUS DEI. Before distribution of communion, we must proceed to the "fraction". In the eighth century this rite was not the same as it is for us, and did not occupy exactly the same place in the mass. It consisted of a breaking into little pieces the somewhat large loaves of bread offered by the faithful and consecrated during the Canon. Since the whole congregation received communion—on major feasts, at least—the eucharistic bread was necessarily prepared in large quantity, and the fraction must have presented a task of major proportions. The Pontiff did not do it all personally. He began it by detaching from a eucharistic loaf a fragment which he placed on the altar, and then he returned to the throne. The deacons completed the fraction. They began at the moment the Pontiff, from his place on the throne, gave them the signal, and at that instant, the archdeacon "looks to the schola and gives them a sign to say *Agnus Dei*" (*Ordo rom.* I).

The *Liber Pontificalis* teaches us that Pope Sergius († 701) was the person who instituted the practice that "during the fraction of the body of the Lord, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis* shall be sung by the clergy and people".¹ It is remarkable that the oldest of our texts, the *Capitulare*, which is posterior to the decision of Sergius by only a few years, declares, in fact, that the *Agnus Dei* is sung by *all*, that is, by the entire congregation. Nevertheless, the method of singing intended by Sergius must not have remained in use very long, for the *Instruccio* already says that "the clerics" sing the *Agnus Dei*, a fact which seems clearly to exclude the people. We have just noted that *Ordo rom.* I gives this chant to the schola, which amounts to the same thing, since the schola was composed of clerics. According to S. Amand, the acolytes who participate in the fraction sing *Agnus Dei* in alternation with the schola. Thus it would seem that the general mass of those in attendance had given up taking part in the singing of the *Agnus Dei* as early as the

1. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I, 376, No. XIV. At Milan a variable "*Confractorium*" is sung during the fraction. It is possible that the Roman mass contained such a piece in early times, and that Sergius merely replaced a variable piece of chant by a fixed, or stereotyped formula, so to speak. In any case, the *Agnus Dei* which he had sung during the fraction plays exactly the same role as the Ambrosian *Confractorium*.

second half of the eighth century, which was then given over to the schola.

We should note that the concluding "*dona nobis pacem*" is not mentioned in the ancient texts. The invocation was, therefore, always the same and was sung over and over (*Capitulare, Instruccio*). *Ordo rom. I* says that the *Agnus Dei* "is prolonged until the fraction has been completed", and S. Amand also specifies that the *Agnus Dei* is repeated 'during the entire time that the fraction is being accomplished'. It is therefore certain that there was no limitation, as we have today, to a triple invocation, but rather a freedom to repeat the formula without interruption during the whole time that the fraction must have lasted, — certainly more than three times, and very probably a very great number.

COMMUNION. When the fraction is completed, "the first of the schola makes a sign with his hand, and they stop the *Agnus Dei*" (*Ordo Rom. I*).

Then begins the ceremony of the communion. A deacon carries to the Pontiff the piece of bread which the Pontiff had himself detached just before the fraction and placed on the altar on a paten. The Pope received communion at the throne, probably standing, since in former times that was the position of any person for receiving communion. It was at this point that, taking a piece from the bite of bread he had just taken, he put it into the Chalice held by the archdeacon, saying: *Fiat commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam, amen*, and then *Pax tecum*. The answer was given: *Et cum spiritu tuo*. This little dialogue took place with the archdeacon (and not with the people as today). The archdeacon then gave the Pontiff communion under the species of wine.¹

The communion of the Pope takes place in silence, since the *Agnus Dei* was halted at the exact moment when the frac-

1. Even today, during Solemn Mass, the Pope communicates at the throne, to which a deacon carries the Eucharist for him. He drinks the Precious Blood from the Chalice with a golden tube.

tion was completed. It is this silence that the archdeacon uses to announce to the people the date and place of the following Station, that is, of the next very solemn papal mass. He proclaims in a loud voice: "Such-and-such a day, the Station will be at (the Basilica of) Saint M, within the walls (or outside the walls)". And the response is given (certainly by all the people): *Deo gratias*.

Immediately after this announcement begins the communion of all the others present. The bishops and then the priests, according to rank, receive the Eucharist from the hands of the Pontiff and go to the altar to consume the holy species. The first among the bishops gives the other clergy communion under the species of wine. Then communion is given to the people, always under the two species. The bishops and priest give the eucharistic bread, while the deacons present the chalice. We know, moreover, although the *Ordines romani* do not say so, that each person of the faithful in attendance, in a standing posture, received in his right hand the piece of eucharistic bread: "The body of Christ!" said the cleric who gave the communion, and the response by the recipient was "*Amen*." A deacon presented the chalice, saying, "The blood of Christ!", and the recipient drank a mouthful and answered "*Amen*." The congregation thus passed one by one before the altar.

It was during this long ceremony that the chant of the "antiphon for communion" took place. *Ordo rom*, I says: "As soon as the Pontiff begins to receive communion in the senatorium, the schola immediately begins the antiphon for communion". We have seen, however, that between the communion of the Pontiff and that of the rest of the people and clergy comes (in the Roman churches) the announcement of the next Station. The chant, therefore, could not have begun until after the communion of the Pontiff and at the moment when the communion of the clerics is about to begin. This is precisely what S. Amand says.

The communion antiphon included, in those days, the singing of a psalm, exactly like the antiphon "for the entry". The chant of the communion, like that of the Introit, was

extended for whatever length of time was necessary. The *Instruccio* even takes care to state "If there are many clergy to communicate, *the entire psalm is sung with the antiphon*, until the priest makes a sign of the cross on his forehead for the *Gloria Patri* to be sung".

In *Ordo Rom. I* it is the "Pontiff, or the person to whom he has give his authority" who gives the signal for the *Gloria*. S. Amand, in the ninth century, shows us the completed evolution, and the task of giving the signal has passed conclusively, at this point in the mass, from the Pontiff to the archdeacon: "And when the archdeacon sees that hardly anyone else is left to receive communion, he makes a sign for the schola to say *Gloria*. And the sub-deacons repeat *Sicut erat in principio*, and the schola repeats a verse".

The "repeated verse" mentioned by S. Amand is also noted in the other documents. "When all the people have received communion", says the *Capitulare*, "the Pontiff makes a sign, and they say "*Gloria*, and the verse, with the antiphon". *Ordo rom. I*, after having mentioned that "they say *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*, etc.", adds "and then, after having repeated a verse they stop". The most exact description is that of the *Instruccio*, the passage from which just mentioned above goes on thus: "And after the *Gloria*, they repeat a verse from the same psalm, and finally sing the antiphon. This way the praise of the Holy Trinity should be accomplished and concluded."

The chant of the antiphon "for the communion", then, in following strictly the texts we have just examined, includes:

- a) the singing of the antiphon, which alternates with the verses of a psalm, this psalm being sung in entirety, if called for;
- b) at a sign from the Pontiff, *Gloria Patri*, with *Sicut erat*;

c) a "repeated verse" (in which we recognize the "*versu ad repetendum*" of the Introit);

d) in closing, the repetition of the antiphon.

Since none of our *Ordines* pretend to give an absolutely complete description, but are content often to give allusions to supposedly known customs, and since, too, the elements we find in regard to the communion in the various *Ordines* coincide exactly with those we have found in the chant of the Introit, we are justified in concluding that the procedure for singing the "antiphon for the communion" was exactly like that for performing the "antiphon for the entrance". Thus there was, firstly, a series of verses (indefinite in number, in principle), alternating with the antiphon; then the *Gloria*, the repetition of the antiphon, the *Sicut erat*, and again the antiphon; the "repeated verse", and finally the antiphon for a last time.

POSTCOMMUNION. When all the people have received communion, and the chant of the antiphon is finished, the Pontiff "descends from his chair, goes over to the altar and says: *Dominus vobiscum*. All answer: *Et cum spiritu tuo*. Then he says the prayer which belongs to the day and closes *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, and all answer *Amen*. He says again *Dominus vobiscum*, and all answer *Et cum spiritu tuo*". (*Capitulare*)

The prayer "after the communion", or Postcommunion, serves as the closing of the communion ceremony and fills the role, in a sense, of what modern piety calls the "thanksgiving". Here, as in the Collect, the invitation to pray (*Oremus*) is followed by a pause during which the faithful pray silently, and the formula sung aloud by the celebrant gives public and official expression to the personal prayer of those present.

ITE MISSA EST. At this point the ceremony is over, and everyone may leave. This is precisely what the deacon announces: "the deacon says *Ite, missa est*, and all answer *Deo gratias*, and that is the end". (*Capitulare*) According

to *Ordo rom. I*, the announcement of the deacon is made only after a sign from the celebrant: "One of the deacons to whom the role has been assigned by the archdeacon turns toward the Pontiff to watch for his sign; and he says to the people *Ite, missa est*; and they answer *Deo gratias*". According to S. Amand the deacon designated to sing the *Ite missa est* is "not the one who read the Gospel, but another."

BENEDICTION. Then follows the benediction, but it did not have the same character in former times as it does today. According to the *Capitulare*, the oldest of our documents, it would seem to have been given in silence. In any case, it would appear that it was given in the sacristy to the members of the papal cortege only, while the Pope gave to each one "a glass of pure wine" to serve as a refreshment from fatigue.

Ordo Rom. I, somewhat later, mentions a formula, but it is remarkable that there is no benediction given to all the people at once, but instead, several, each of which is given to a different group of persons among the clergy present: "The bishops say: 'Grant us a blessing, Lord'. The Pontiff: 'May the Lord bless you.' They answer: '*Amen*'. After the bishops come the priests, then the monks, then the schola, then the knight-standard-bearers. After them the baliffs; after them the candle-bearers, after which the acolytes . . .; after them, outside the prebyterium, the cross-bearers, then the lesser members of the household. And he enters into the sacristy'".

The Pope therefore blesses, one after the other, the different groups of ministers and dignitaries of his entourage. *Ordo rom. I*, as we see, does not even mention the rest of the congregation among those who are thus blessed. This series of benedictions was, so to speak, private, and took on the aspect of a family affair. Perhaps the faithful, one by one or in little groups, asked the Pope, while he crossed the Basilica to re-enter the sacristy, to give them, too, his blessing. This is not stated expressly, but it is in complete conformity with the spirit of the benediction as described to us

by the *Ordines romani*. The benediction at the end of the mass at that time is comparable to the benediction which today the bishop gives privately and familiarly to those present when he passes through groups of them informally. This benediction in its ancient form does not form a part of the ceremony in an official sense. This is forcefully attested to by the fact that the deacon did not wait for the blessing to be given in order to dismiss those present by saying "*Ite, missa est*", after which the *Capitulare* immediately declares: "and that is the end".

We should note that the exit is accompanied by no singing whatsoever.

(*This concludes the descriptive portion of Dom Froger's book. At a later time, and according to the convenience of format, the concluding commentaries will be published.*)

*THE GREEK MELODY OF THE "GLORIA IN EXCELSIS" AND ITS USE IN GLORIA XIV

by Dom Michel Huglo, O.S.B.,
monk of Solesmes

"Mary brought forth her First-born Son, wrapped Him in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in a manger . . . A choir of the heavenly host praised God, saying: Glory to God in the highest! And on earth, peace to men of good will!"

At a very early point in its history the Christian Church began to sing the hymn intoned by the angels, extending it by praising the Divine Persons of the Holy Trinity. This is the Great Doxology. This ancient hymn, through its lyricism and literary form, suggests the doxologies of the Paulist epistles or the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. Perhaps, too, it may be asked whether Pliny did not refer to the singing of the Great Doxology when he wrote to Trajan, about the year 112 A.D., denouncing the hymn of the Christians of Bithynia "addressed to Christ as though to a God".

Our hymn may, in fact, go back to the second century, and its already established antiquity merited it the honor, as early as the third century, to be ranked as equal to the scriptural hymns of the morning office, or *Orthros*. The text has undergone a number of modifications from those earliest times up to the period of the first preserved transcriptions, and these modifications vary according to the usages of the various Churches. By comparing the more recent versions with descriptive writings of the early centuries, Father Lebreton has been able to discover which passages represent

*This study has been included as being of interest in the light of the efforts toward mutual understanding between eastern and western churches recently emphasized during the Church Unity Octave.

probable additions to the original version or versions.¹ These additions were made as defenses against certain heresies of the time. Assisted by these remarks, and following the principle that the phrases which were common to *all* the eastern and western liturgies belong to the original text, it is possible to approach the gist of the original. Here is the English approximation of it:

Glory to God in the highest;
 Peace on earth;
 To men, goodwill.
 We praise thee, we bless thee, we adore thee.
 We render thanks to thee because of thy great glory,
 Lord, heavenly king,

GOD FATHER ALMIGHTY.

Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father
 Thou who takest away the sins of the world,
 have mercy on us;
 Thou who takest away the sins of the world,
 hear our prayer;
 Thou who sittest at the right of the Father,
 have mercy on us;
 For thou alone art Holy,
 Thou alone art Lord,

JESUS CHRIST

In the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Praise is first directed to the Father, then to the Son. The omission of the Holy Spirit should not seem surprising. We must remember that ancient doxologies do not always name the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. Even the Nicene Creed added a section on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, well after its original writing, when the Macedonian

1. "*La forme primitive du Gloria in excelsis*" in *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, 13 (1923), p. 322-329. A bibliography on the *Gloria in excelsis* may be found in A. Jungmann, *Missarum solemnia I*, (1948), p. 429-444. We must add to this A. Gastoue, "*La Grande Doxologie*" (*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 4 (1899), p. 280-290), and Dom B. Capelle, "*Le texte du Gloria in excelsis*" in *Rev. Hist. Eccl.*, 44 (1949), p. 439-457.

heresy appeared. Father Lebreton surmises that the *Gloria in excelsis* was also added to in this regard, in protestation against the same error.

This hypothesis has the advantage of explaining the variable position occupied by the additional phrase concerning the Third Person in the various versions of the Great Doxology. The Greek texts place this additional phrase in the middle of the original, immediately after the invocation to Jesus Christ, whereas our Roman text places it at the end.

This textual divergence is not the only one which distinguishes the ancient eastern liturgies from the Roman liturgy. We must also take into consideration the place assigned to or hymn in canonical prayer. Whereas the entire East recites the *Gloria in excelsis* during the morning office, Rome reserves it exclusively for the Eucharistic synaxis. This Roman practice is attested to as early as the sixth century by the *Liber Pontificalis*.

The same document tells us that the custom of singing the angelical Hymn at the midnight mass of Christmas was introduced by the Pope, St. Telephore († 136), a statement which is obviously wrong, since the feast of Christmas itself was not instituted until two hundred years later, about 335 A.D. Might there not be, however, some basis for this assertion? Greek was abandoned as the liturgical language by Rome in about the year 375¹, or in other terms, about fifty years after the introduction of the feast of Christmas. The *Gloria* in Greek, *Doxa en ypsistis Theo*, which we find prescribed for the feast of Christmas in Latin manuscripts, might therefore represent a holdover from the time when the liturgy was celebrated in Greek. We are tempted to believe this and to agree with the anonymous author of the *Speculum Ecclesiae* that this represented a practice of singing "the *Gloria* in Greek according to an ancient custom of the Church of Rome, in the service of which Greeks as well as Latins were employed".²

1. The transition took place between 360 and 382, as determined by Klauser recently, *Der Uebergang der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Sprache (Miscellanea Mercati I)* (1946), p. 467-482).

2. Cited by Dom Martene, *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit. I* (Anvers 1736), p. 279-280.

We shall, with the aid of the documents available to the present day, study the text and melody of this chant and show that the origin of both must be sought in the east, before the Carolingian period.

Manuscript tradition presents us with two categories of documents, grouped according to whether or not the Greek version is accompanied by a Latin translation:

1. The *Doxa en ypsistis Theo* written in Latin letters (in Greek phonetics), but without a Latin translation, is given with neumatic notation in the following manuscripts:¹

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. St. Gall 484 (c. 970), p. 202 | Sequentiary Troper |
| 2. St. Gall 381 (c. 1000), p. 13 | Sequentiary Troper |
| 3. St. Gall 376 (an. 1064-70), p. 68 | Sequentiary Troper |
| 4. St. Gall 378 (c. 1070), p. 109 | Sequentiary Troper |
| 5. St. Gall 338 (11th cent.), p. 308 | Gradual of St. Gall |
| 6. St. Gall 340 (11th cent.), p. 212
(intonation only) | Sequentiary Troper |
| 7. St. Gall 382 (end of 11th cent.), p. 3 | Sequentiary Troper |
| 8. Dusseldorf D. 2 (10th cent.), f. 203 | Essen Sacramentary |

1. For the German troparia we have adopted the datings given by the research of Bruckner and Von den Steinen summarized in the *Revue Gregorienne* of 1949, p. 77 sq. and 115 sq. The beginning of the *Doxa* from Manuscript 2 has recently been reproduced photographically by Father Van Waesberghe in *Gregorian Chant* (Stockholm, n.d.), p. 54, fig. 12. The text of Manuscript 8 was published by H. Mueller, *Reliquae Graecae* in *K. Mus. Jahrb. XXI* (1908), p. 147. That of Manuscript 16 was published by Christ and Paranikas *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipsig, 1871), p. 38. We do not make reference to manuscripts British Museum add. 19.768 or Vienna 1888 from St. Alban de Mayence. They give a second melody which is also found among St. Gall sources, but for which we can find no transcription on lines.

9. Munich 14.322 (an. 1024-36), f. 1 Sequentiary Troper
of St. Emmeran
10. Munich 14.083 (an. 1031-37), f. 35v Sequentiary Troper
St. Emmeran
11. Bamberg lit. 6 (end of 10th cent.), f. 94 Gradual of
St. Emmeran
12. Oxford, Bold. Selden supra 27 (c. 1030), f. 88
Troparium of Heidenheim
13. Oxford, Bold. 775 (979-1016), f. 28 and f. 88
The Winchester Troper¹
14. Cambridge CCC 473 (middle of 11th cent. f. 69v
Troper from Winchester
15. Paris B.N. 9449 (c. 1060), f. 51v Troper from Nevers
16. Munich 19.440 (fly-leaf from 12th cent.)
Manuscript from Tegernsee

2. The same text with the same melody, but with either an interlinear or parallel Latin translation, is found in the following manuscripts:

17. Paris, B.N. lat. 2291 (9th century, f. 16
Sacramentary of St. Amand
18. Paris, B.N. lat. 1118 (an. 985-996), f. 67v
Troparium of St. Martial
19. Paris, B.N. lat. 9436 (11th cent.), f. 1v
Missal of St. Denys
20. Laon 263 (12th-13th cent.), f. 104

1. Text in W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper* (1894), p. 60. A facsimile of the *Doxa* is given in *Archeologia* 46 (1881), plate 19. The manuscript was copied after another from Tours or Fleury. See also Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant* (Oxford-Boston, 1947), p. 194 sq., cf. p. 33.

This latter manuscript does not give a Latin translation, but it intersperses the Greek text with a Latin prosula.¹

We must also mention sacramentaries, psalters and various collections, almost all of which date from the ninth century, in which the Greek text is given without notation.

Sacramentaries:

21. Leningrad Q.I. 41 (an. 836), f. 10v, written at St. Amand for Tournai.²
22. Paris, B.N. 2290 (ninth century), f. 7v, from St. Denys
23. Stockholm Franc. I (c. 860), f. 16, written at St. Amand, taken to Sens about 895 A.D.
24. Laon 118 (tenth century), f. 156v, from St. Denys (incomplete text)
25. Tours 193 (thirteenth century), f. 15v, from St. Martin de Tours

Psalters:

26. Berlin, Hamilton 552 (ninth century), Greco-Latin psalter from the region near Milan
27. London, Br. Mus. Cotton Galba A. XVIII (ninth century), psalter of King Aethelstan

1. *Doxa en ipsistis tha Ke epigis yrinis eman te opis eudochia enumen se. Laudat in excelsis celum terramque regentem angelicus caetus laudat et omnis homo. Eulogumen se. Quem benedicit ovans caelorum celsa potestas et mortalis homo te benedicit ovans. (P)roschinumen se. Te veneranter adorat cuncta caterva polorum te tellus pelagus laudat, adorat, amat. Doxologumen se. Glorificent Dominum rutilantia sydera caeli; glorificent te rex cuncta creata tua. Eucharistumen se . . . Amyn.*

Note the literal borrowings from the *Gloria laus*. [The text shows typical corruptions.]

2. Text reproduced in the catalog of D. Staerk. The manuscript was taken later on to Perrecy in Saone-et-Loire, and not in the chartrain region, c.f. R.H.E. (1912), p. 702. For the other sacramentaries, see the descriptions by L. Delisle and V. Leroquais.

28. Bamberg A.I. 14 (an. 909), f. 167, quadruple psalter of Salomon III of St. Gall

Various collections:

29. Montpellier 306 (ninth century), f. 138v, Burgundy
30. London, Br. Mus. Harl. 5642 (ninth or tenth century) f. 47v
31. Cambridge Univ. 1567 (eleventh century), f. 422, from Canterbury
32. Kremsmunster 309 (eleventh or twelfth century), f. 190v, sequentiary troper. Although this manuscript is provided with notation in neumes, the *Doxa* is, exceptionally, given without them.

These documents permit us to reconstruct a correct version of the text and melody of the *Doxa en ypsistis*. The manuscripts give the text in Latin letters, but with the Greek pronunciation then in common use. In a parallel vein, we think it might be useful to reshape the version as given with the correct old Greek letters.

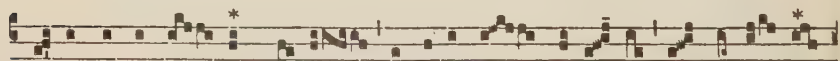
From the neumatic point of view we find a certain number of variations which contrast the German manuscripts with the Anglo-French group. The main distinction lies in the use of the salicus. The salicus is used nine times by the sangallian manuscripts at the places indicated by the asterisks. The Anglo-French manuscripts, except for two intonation salicus forms, always give a different neume, usually a podatus. On the other hand, Winchester twice gives the intonation salicus at *o eron* where the German sources provide a simple podatus.

1. The text of the *Doxa* in the Bamberg psalter is written in Greek uncial script. The text is reproduced by Dom Cagin, *Te Deum ou Illatio*, Solesmes 1906, p. 168. The same is true of the first line of the text of St. Gall 378, but this uncial written by a Latin scribe is an imitation of Greek uncial and is mixed with Latin characters.

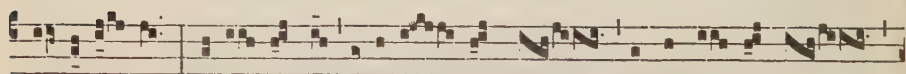
The melodic restitution is based on the manuscripts of St. Martial and Laon, as all the others are noted *in campo aperto*.² We can gain an idea of their respective values by the way in which the *equaliter* of St. Gall 381 is given. In the seven cases where the same neume is called for in the three manuscripts, it is transmitted correctly only three times by Laon, but six times by St. Martial. The aquitainian notation of the St. Martial script is of a very accurate pitch representation, relatively speaking, but it fails to provide either a clef sign or a *custos*. It gives the *iustum* of St. Gall 381 less accurately than does the Laon manuscript or the Winchester script for the *o* of *o amnos tu Theu*. The St. Martial manuscript must therefore be completed in this work of restoration by reference to that of Laon.

Finally, for the rhythmic nuances, we have followed the indications of the St. Gall manuscripts, with which there is nearly always exact correspondence in the Winchester tropers, either through the graphic separation of the notes, which indicates length, or the use of the *tenete* sign.

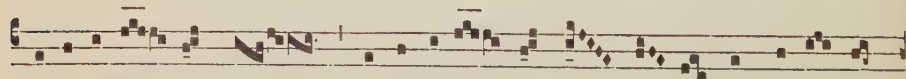
HYMNUS ANGELICUS SECUNDUM GRECOS.



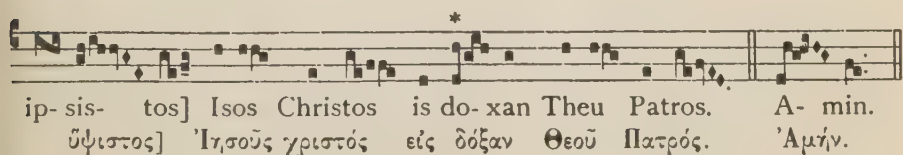
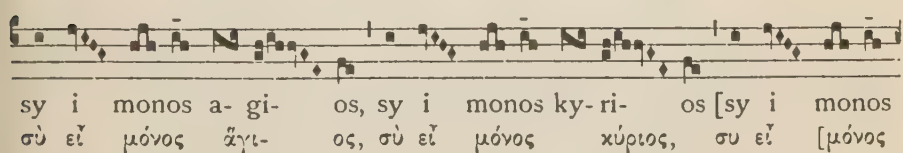
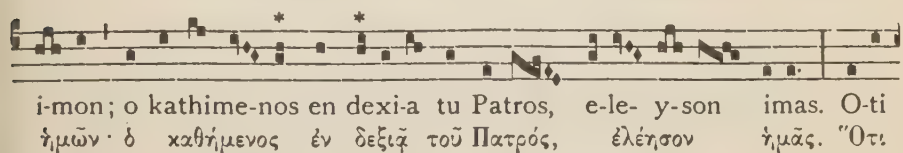
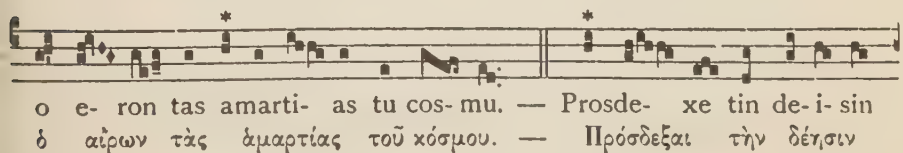
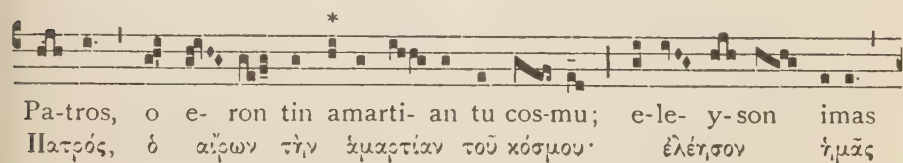
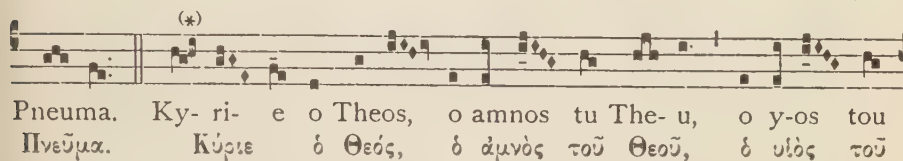
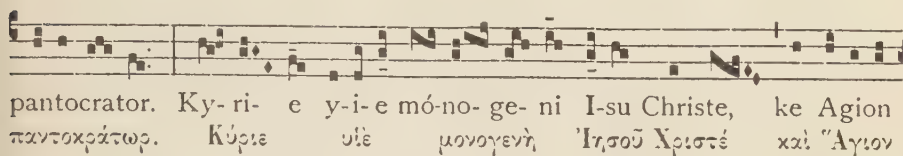
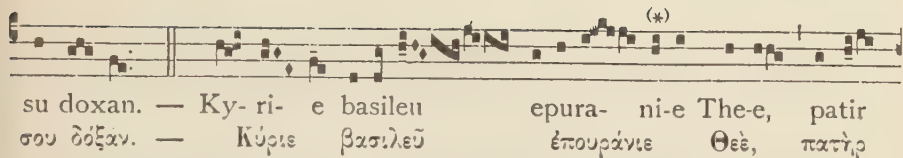
Doxa en ypsis- tis The-o ke e-pi gis i-ri-ni, en antro-pis
 Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνῃ, ἐν ἀνθρώποις



eudo-ki- a. Enumen se, eulogu- men se, proskinu-men se,
 εὐδοκία Αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε,



doxo-logu- men se, eucharistu- men si, di- a tin mega-lin
 δοξολογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην



The final incise *sin agio Pneumati*, although forming a part of all sources, has been omitted, since it probably represents an addition made under the influence of the Roman *Gloria*. The diversity of the neumatic variants found on these three words seem to confirm this supposition. We have said that the Byzantine text puts the glorification of the Holy Spirit in the middle of the hymn. This reference was maintained at this position by the Anglo-French manuscript tradition, but omitted by the German tradition (except for Munich 14.322 and Dusseldorf D.2).¹ This omission is explained by the influence of the accepted Roman text. There was reciprocal influence by the Latin and Greek versions, one on the other, particularly as these texts were often written down in parallel columns. Similar agreements are fairly frequent in bilingual manuscripts, in which the texts always tend toward a certain balance of these reciprocal influences.

Certain characteristic features of the Byzantine text have nevertheless been preserved by some of the sources: therefore *eudochia* (instead of *eudochias*) is maintained by eleven of the 25 sources we have examined, the first *tyn amartian* (instead of *tas amartias*) kept by 19 manuscripts, *sy i monos* (instead of the elision *simonos*) preserved by the two manuscripts of St. Denys.

Finally, the incise *sy i monos ipsistos* does not belong to the oldest texts of the Byzantine doxology, but on the support of one Greek manuscript,² we have thought it best to keep it.


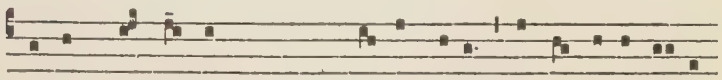

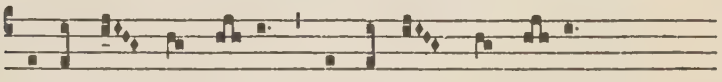
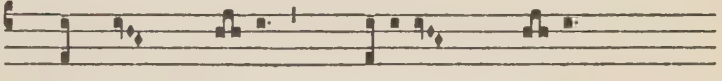
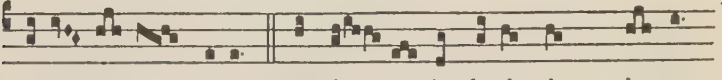
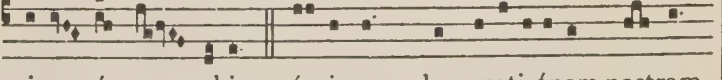
As for the order of the acclamations: *enumen se, eulogumen se*, etc. . . . this varies in the Greek manuscripts. We cannot determine, therefore, whether there has been any rearrangement in the western tradition of the *Doxa*.

The characteristic features of the Byzantine text, as well as the ensemble of the text itself, show clearly that the *Doxa*

1. A short neumatic passage of the *Doxa* in Munich 14.322 is given in notation with letters indicating the different intervals (so-called notation of Hermanus Contractus), cf. *Riemann-Festschrift*, Leipzig 1909, p. 138.

2. Cf. Christ and Paranikas, *loc. cit.* (Euchologium of the 12th cent.).

en ypsistis of the Latin manuscripts is directly related to Byzantine tradition, at least as regards the text. Must we for this reason assume the oriental origin of the melody? One observation is obvious from the outset; we find many passages in this melody to be parallel to that of *Gloria XIV* of the Vatican Edition, preserved in manuscripts contemporary with those of the *Doxa*:

<i>Doxa.</i>	
	ke epi gis i-ri-ni en antro-pis eu-do-ki-a.
<i>Gloria XIV.</i>	
	Et in ter-ra pax homi-nibus bonae voluntá-tis
<i>Gloria I.</i>	
	Et in ter-ra pax homi-nibus bonae voluntá-tis
<i>Doxa.</i>	
	o amnos tu The-u o y-os tu Pa-tros
<i>Gloria XIV.</i>	
	Agnus De-i Fi-li-us Pa-tris
<i>Doxa.</i>	
	...e-le-y-son imas. Prosde-xe tin de-i-sin i-mon.
<i>Gloria XIV.</i>	
	...mi-se-ré-re nobis ...súsci-pe deprecati-ónem nostram.

We must, therefore, determine the chronological sequence of the two melodies. A first argument in favor of the historical priority of the *Doxa* is furnished for us by a paleographic study of the sources of the *Kyriale*. The melody of *Gloria XIV* can be found in only one manuscript of the tenth century (Bamberg li. 6), in two of the tenth-to-eleventh century period and in twenty or so from the eleventh century itself. For the melody of the *Doxa* we have mentioned a manuscript from the end of the ninth century¹ (No. 17 in the manuscript list), four from the tenth century and two from about the year 1000.

A second argument confirms the first by showing the dependance of *Gloria XIV* as regards the *Doxa*. A half-dozen of the oldest manuscripts of the *Gloria* have preserved the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the middle of the Doxology, which seems to indicate their dependence upon the Greek text.²

Doxa.



I-su Christe ke A- gi- on Pneu-ma

Gloria XIV.
(Paris, N. Acq. 1235, fol. 222 v.)



... Jesu Chri-ste (et) Sancte Spí- ri- tus

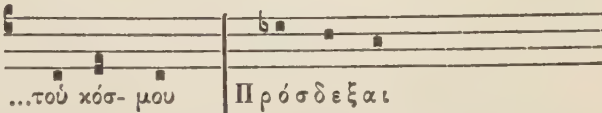
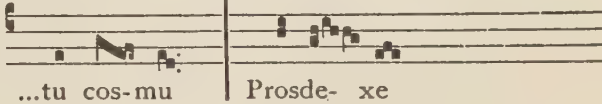
This variant is found in the French manuscripts, which would, then, have been eliminated little by little by the grow-

1. This manuscript passed from St. Amand to the Paris region (St. Denys) at the end of the ninth century. See Leroquais *Sacramentaires*, t.I, p. 56, which follows the opinion of Delisle. Dom Beyssac has remarked that the notation is that of St. Amand (it discontinues at *epuranie*). A facsimile can be found in Delisle's *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, pl.xxx, 4.

2. *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 47, p. 245 (see the editors' note on the trope to *Gloria XIV*).

ing use of *Gloria XIV*, shaped to conform with the authentic text of the Roman *Gloria* in which this phrase is not included.¹

We can also see that the melody of the *Doxa* has its musical cadences constructed according to the phrasing of the Greek text, and not that of the Roman version. The Roman says: "... qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes . . ." The Greek text, on the other hand, puts the sentence ending (represented by the period) thusly: "*Lamb of God who beareth the sins of the world. Receive our prayer, thou who sittest at the right of the Father . . . etc.*" Compare the melody of the *Doxa* as preserved in the West with the melody of the Byzantine Doxology given by the Greek manuscripts:²

Greek manuscripts	 <p>...του κόσ- μου Π ρ ό σ δ ε ξ α ι</p>
<i>Doxa.</i>	 <p>...tu cos-mu Prosde- xe</p>
Roman phrasing	<p>peccáta mundi, súscipe deprecationem nostram</p>

The melody of the *Doxa* is therefore earlier than that of *Gloria XIV*. The texts without musical notation from the beginning of the ninth century can be considered as evidence of the growing use of the *Doxa* melody in the West during this time. The *Doxa en ypsistis* was probably introduced to the occidental churches before the second third of the ninth century. We know, in fact, that Greek monks came to St. Denys in the time of Hilduin, about the year 832, to assist in the translations of the writings of St. Denys the Areopagite. It

1. This would seem to indicate that *Gloria XIV* is of French origin.

2. The Greek manuscripts furnish us, in fact, with a second melody which we have taken this excerpt from, based on a note from Gastoue to Dom Mocquereau in August 1896, corrected later by Professor Wellesz. Gastoue transcribed into Gregorian notation the notated melody of a manuscript source of the "middle" period of Byzantine chant, for which he neglected to give the number or source.

is not impossible that some of the Greek chants would have come to the West in this way or in some such similar manner. From St. Denys they were carried to monasteries which were in contact with the great Parisian abbey, among them St. Amand, Tours, St. Gall and others.

The Greek language was not, at that time, among the more familiar tongues, and the variants of transcription of the *Doxa* suffice to show this. Why, then, did western liturgists persist in copying and singing in Greek these pieces from the Ordinary of the Mass: *Doxa, Pisteuo, Agios, O Amnos tu Theu . . .*? This custom was justified by a very beautiful symbolism. Through these bilingual chants they wished to represent, just as today in the solemn Papal Mass, the unity of the Catholic Church in spite of the diversity of languages: *propter unanimitatem utriusque populi*, says *Amalaire*.¹ We understand this more fully when we observe that bilingual pieces are assigned to the feast of Pentecost.² They were particularly fitting for this day on which the newborn Church, blessed with the gift of tongues, began its work of praise: *audivimus eos loquentes nostris linguis magnalia Dei*.

Up to this time only *Gloria XV* was widely known, or at least this is the opinion of most writers. The *Doxa* introduced with its text and melody a little variety. It quite naturally became the chant for solemnities, and *Gloria XV*, which was simpler, was reserved for minor feasts.

This Greek melody, sung at St. Martial, St. Gall, St. Emmeran, that is to say, at the very centers of composition of the Latin tropes, did not fail to make its influence apparent. It supplied the whole basis for *Gloria XIV*. We must now make a study to see whether, in the troopers of the time, we might not be able to find other traces of the *Doxa*.

1. *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, IV (P.L. CV, c. 1073 D), regarding readings in both Greek and Latin.

2. The *Doxa* is called for at Pentecost in Manuscripts 10, 13, 15 and 18. The mention of the Holy Spirit in the middle of the Doxology must have contributed something to this deference.

The melody of the *Doxa*, brought to the West during the Carolingian period, must have been sung in the East before the ninth century. It therefore offers us a double interest from the point of view of musical history. It gives us first of all a specimen of ornate Greek church chant. Until now we have not been able to find anything but almost exclusively *syllabic* hymnography from the Byzantine repertoire. The melody of the *Doxa*, by contrast, gives us a notion of the ancient Byzantine melismatic chant, a chant which was probably not without some analogy with our ornate Gregorian chant. We observe, too, how the composer of *Gloria XIV* takes the essential themes of his melody, and yet maintain his freedom of was able to both borrow from his eastern prototype the essence-composition and ease of expression.



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